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The Shape of Things

IN SPITE OF THE SUPREME COURT RULING in the Texas and Louisiana tideland oil cases, it is probable that we have seen only the beginning of a historic fight. The court opinions, unanimous as to Louisiana and four to three on Texas, were careful not to assert for the federal government outright ownership of the submerged lands, incalculably rich in oil, but claimed that the nation rather than the states had "paramount rights" to the territory. Justice Douglas, speaking for the majority in the Texas case, conceded that *dominium* (ownership) and *imperium* (power to regulate and control) were ordinarily separate, but contended that this was a case "where property interests are so subordinated to the rights of sovereignty as to follow sovereignty." If the federal government has full rights to the three-mile belt of ocean, which it has always enjoyed in connection with navigation and defense, then surely the states cannot claim control over submerged lands beyond this marginal sea. The court, further, made short work of the special argument of Texas that in the Act of Annexation provision was made for retention by the state of "waste and unappropriated lands" and that these include the coastal areas in question. Nevertheless, it is widely believed that failure of the court to settle the issue unequivocally leaves it to Congress to decide whether the areas are to be turned over to the states or to the federal government. The issue is heavy with political overtones. Oil from the tidelands has been a major source of funds for the states' rights movement in the South, and loss of the battle in Congress would prove an even deadlier blow to the Dixiecrats than the Supreme Court's anti-Jim Crow decisions discussed elsewhere in these columns.

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THE JUNE 6 PRIMARY INDICATES THAT whatever else may be happening in California the state is not swinging to the right. There were no upsets, and the balance of power within the Congressional delegation will probably remain unchanged. The heavy vote which Governor Earl Warren received reflects, to a degree, his personal popularity; but it also reflects the fact that under the impact of the cross-filing system party labels have lost their meaning. A newcomer voting for the first

time in California would never know that Governor Warren is a Republican, for candidates' names appear on the primary ballot with no identification of the party to which they belong. Thus Governor Warren, as the incumbent, headed the Democratic ballot. Representative Nixon, who won the Republican Senatorial nomination, distributed campaign material to registered Democrats with the caption "as one Democrat to another." In a California primary one can safely offer a prize to any Republican incumbent bold enough to admit that he is in fact a Republican.

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THE LESSON OF THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY for the Democrats is that they can win only if they campaign as fighting liberals. Mrs. Douglas decisively defeated Manchester Boddy for the Democratic Senatorial nomination despite the fact that Mr. Boddy had the support of the "regulars," the blessing of Senator Downey, and the active help of the Malone machine in San Francisco. Mrs. Douglas, and Mr. Roosevelt less effectively, waged an active campaign with emphasis on street meetings and direct appeals to the voters. In the primary the Republican press was content to dismiss Mrs. Douglas as "a charming actress," but the day after the voting Nixon denounced her as a left-winger with, as he said, a capital "L" and a capital "W"—the first blast in what will doubtless be a viciously red-baiting campaign. Nevertheless, Mrs. Douglas is a strong favorite. But for Roosevelt to win in November two things must happen: first, the Administration must apply a bull whip to the hides of the "regulars" in California to force them to support him—it is common knowledge that they voted for Warren in the primary—and, second, Roosevelt must "mix it up" with Warren. His campaign was conducted in far too gentlemanly a fashion. With the cross-filing hazard out of the way Roosevelt stands a fighting chance of winning in November.

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ALTHOUGH WE HAD HARDLY ANTICIPATED an about-face by the New York City Board of Superintendents, which had twice previously banned *The Nation* from public-school libraries, we were quite unprepared for the sort of logic with which the board last week supported its decision to maintain the ban for the third straight year. The action of the board, said Dr. Jansen, was based "upon the unchanged policy of

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attacking and ridiculing religious beliefs." Attacks not specified; ridicule not specified; no analysis of the hundred-odd issues of this journal which have appeared since Paul Blanshard concluded his famous series; no consideration of *The Nation's* eighty-five-year-old record as defender of racial and religious liberty. "In addition," wrote Dr. Jansen with startling frankness, "members of the Board of Superintendents objected to repeated advertisements of certain types." The sublime vagueness of this charge does not conceal the ugly fact that the board is now seeking to pass judgment on—and thus indirectly to censor—the advertising columns of a publication as well as its news columns. The Acting State Commissioner of Education has yet to announce his decision on our appeal. We hope it restores us to the school shelves. If it does not, the case—broadened to take account of this third and least justified exclusion—will go to the courts.

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THE UNITED STATES TAX COURT HAS RULED that the C. F. Mueller Company, nationally known manufacturer of macaroni, cannot claim tax-exempt status although the stock of the company is held in trust for New York University. The decision follows by a week the issuance of a report by the Association of American Universities discussing the problem of tax exemption in the light of the serious deficits which many American universities are facing this year. Over the last two years *The Nation* has commented from time to time on the dangers implicit in the abuse of tax exemption by educational, charitable, and religious institutions. The decision in the Mueller case, destined to be the major precedent on the subject, stresses the point which we have consistently emphasized—namely, that tax exemption for businesses owned by educational institutions can have a serious effect upon non-exempt competitors. The issue is of major importance, for it raises, and in a most acute form, the question of how long and to what extent educational and religious institutions can remain "free" in a "free-enterprise" economy.

Acheson vs. Lie

IT IS hard to see how anyone could disagree with the ten-point memorandum Secretary-General Lie submitted to the heads of the four big powers, since all he proposes is a new, honest effort by all hands to make the United Nations work. The catch lies in Mr. Lie's letter reporting on his mission and submitting his twenty-year peace program to the fifty-nine members of the world organization. For what Mr. Lie really demands is the early admission of Communist China so that at least his first point can be carried out—an agreement on periodic meetings of the Security Council, to be

attended by foreign ministers or heads of governments, to deal with "outstanding issues . . . particularly those that divide the great powers."

It is this suggestion that Mr. Acheson turned aside with the cool statement that the United States is in no way responsible for the impasse over China's representation. On the contrary, he said, it is the Russians' refusal to accept majority decisions that prevents a solution. "Their refusal represents a boycott of the United Nations and an unwarranted attempt at coercion. We do not like coercion." As to Mr. Lie's ten points, this country is ready to cooperate, as it has been in the past, "in the search for agreement and for progress in these fields." Since Mr. Lie professes to be pleased with Mr. Acheson's statement, he may have reason to hope that the rejection of his China proposal is not final. If so, he must have received some very private encouragement in Washington, for none of the Secretary's recent expositions of American policy offers any sign of retreat.

On this particular issue Mr. Acheson's position is at least understandable. For Russia has him in a cleft stick, and any move he makes will only wedge him tighter or make him look more undignified. Having appointed itself spokesman and champion of Communist China in the U. N., Moscow clamors for the unseating of the Nationalists and their replacement with representatives of Peking. But by boycotting the agencies in which the Nationalists sit, it has made acceptance of Communist China identical with capitulation to Moscow. This is what Mr. Acheson means by coercion, and that is what it is. A dispassionate observer is none the less bound to ask whether the Russians are really as eager for the acceptance of their Chinese protégé as they try to appear.

If Moscow had wanted to win Western support for the admission of the new China, we cannot imagine that it would have behaved as it has. No one believes Washington intended, at the start, to delay the change beyond the point fixed by diplomatic amenities and the suspicious mood of Congress. A little politeness in Peking, a willingness on the part of the Russians to argue the case on its obvious merits, and the shift would probably have been soon accomplished. Russia's truculent manner, together with its boycott of the U. N., makes sense only as a means of coercing the United States to stall, and denounce, and prove to the hilt its hostility to the new government of China—and then one day, grudgingly and gracelessly, accept it anyhow, as it is bound to do.

Since Mr. Acheson has so patently lost the initiative, his best course now is to permit the early entry of Communist China through the leadership and votes of the less vulnerable members of the Security Council. Some understanding of this sort may be behind the sudden announcement by Ambassador Chauvel, chief French

U. N. delegate, that while France "regretted and condemned" Soviet methods of pressure, the continued existence of the United Nations as a world organization demanded early settlement of the Chinese controversy. His statement is the more interesting when one recalls that recognition by Mao Tse-tung of the Ho Chi Minh regime in Indo-China has been regarded as one of the chief reasons for the American attitude. But if France itself adopts the line suggested by M. Chauvel, one motive for our resistance will have been eliminated. And Mr. Acheson has at least paved the way for his own final acquiescence by agreeing not to use the veto if a majority of the Council favors Mao's admission.

Whether the French move is the direct result of Mr. Lie's efforts is not known. But if it succeeds in breaking the deadlock in the U. N. by bringing in Communist China, and particularly if it extricates Mr. Acheson from his present cramped position without forcing him to yield openly to Soviet coercion, then the Secretary-General will have a right to feel proud as well as relieved. For only then can a start be made toward ending the cold war by the methods advocated in his memorandum.

Jim Crow Doomed

FOR several years prior to last week's trio of momentous decisions the Supreme Court had been chipping away at segregation, the last great weapon of the Confederacy. It was hoped that now at last it would repudiate the doctrine laid down in 1896 under which "separate but equal" facilities were held to satisfy constitutional prohibitions against discrimination. The court did not do this directly, Chief Justice Vinson noting its traditional disinclination to deal with constitutional issues other than those directly involved. But by the time the justices were done with the cases of Elmer Henderson, Heman Marion Sweatt, and G. W. McLaurin, the separate-but-equal doctrine had become a miserable reed for white-supremacists to lean on.

While the justices confined themselves, in theory, to the question of equality, they seemed deliberately to be pushing their interpretation to such a healthy degree of literalness that it is impossible to imagine they had any objective other than to remove completely the legal underpinnings of segregation. Consider Chief Justice Vinson's language in the Sweatt case, a suit brought on the ground that the Negro law school hastily thrown together at Houston was not in fact equal to the University of Texas Law School, which had refused to admit Mr. Sweatt as a student. In weighing the two institutions Vinson went far beyond physical facilities to deal with those intangible qualities "which make for greatness in a law school." These included not only "reputation of

the faculty," but even "position and influence of the alumni, standing in the community, tradition, and prestige." The Negro school, he pointed out, by excluding whites deprived its students of contact with most of the future lawyers, witnesses, jurors, and judges with whom the students would presumably have to deal in their future careers. "With such a substantial and significant segment of society excluded," said the opinion, "we cannot conclude that the education offered is substantially equal to that which [Mr. Sweatt] would receive if admitted to the University of Texas Law School." Given this criterion, it is obvious that no segregated professional school can meet the test of equality, no matter how much money a state may spend on it.

In the *McLaurin* case the court went still farther. The University of Oklahoma had admitted the appellant as a student but compelled him to sit apart in classrooms of the Graduate School in a place railed off and marked "reserved for colored," and to eat separately in the school cafeteria. "Such restrictions," said the Chief Justice, "impair and inhibit his ability to study, to engage in discussion and exchange views with other students, and in general to learn his profession." Again the court was saying, not too indirectly, that segregation and equality were incompatible.

The same note was struck in the *Henderson* case, which involved the refusal of the Southern Railway to accommodate the appellant in a dining-car on the ground that the two tables reserved for Negroes, curtained off from the rest of the car, were occupied, though there were vacant tables elsewhere. The opinion, written by Justice Burton, viewed the action as a refusal "to extend . . . the use of its existing and unoccupied facilities," as required under the Interstate Commerce Act, and went on to state that "curtains, partitions, and signs emphasize the artificiality of a difference in treatment which serves only to call attention to a racial classification of passengers holding identical tickets. . . ." It is true that the decision applies only to interstate travel, but the effect will be to end segregation on all lines that cross state boundaries, whether or not the passenger himself is traveling between states. Attempts to separate passengers on this basis would not only be difficult but utterly futile, since white Southerners who adjust themselves to sharing a car with Negroes traveling from Atlanta to Jacksonville will hardly balk at the presence of Negroes who happen to be going only from Atlanta to Savannah.

Attorney General McGrath and Solicitor General Perlman, not to mention the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations acting as "friends of the court," had asked for an outright reversal of the separate-but-equal doctrine. Had the court granted it, the result might have been even more dramatic than it was, but there is reason to doubt

that it would have been as shrewd a verdict or as effective. Rather than attempt an unenforceable edict outlawing segregation in one great sweep the court chose to speed up the process whereby the states will find themselves compelled by circumstance to bring a vicious practice to an end.

Governor Talmadge of Georgia may rant about the "dagger ready to be plunged into the very heart of Southern tradition" and vow that no Negro will attend a white school while he is governor, but in the end he will have little choice. His own state school superintendent admits that to bring the state's Negro schools up to the standards of the white schools would require something like \$100,000,000. No Southern Negro university is equipped to grant a Ph.D., and there is not a single Negro medical school in the South. To provide separate educational facilities that would be equal even in a far narrower sense than the court calls for would make a shambles of many a Southern state budget.

The surprising unanimity of the court and the fact that two of the opinions were written by a Kentuckian indicate the justices' belief that the South is ready to adapt itself to change, and in this they are borne out by the mildness of the reaction to their opinions. It is true that by failing to deal with segregation per se the court has opened the way to possibly endless litigation on individual charges that true equality has been denied. But the overwhelming likelihood is that rather than contest hundreds of such cases, at great cost and without ultimate hope of success, the states and institutions of the South will yield with increasing swiftness to the inevitable. In the hopeful words of Thurgood Marshall, counsel for the N. A. A. C. P., "the complete destruction of all enforced segregation is now in sight."

The Amerasia Case

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, June 11

A federal grand jury in New York has opened a new investigation of the now celebrated *Amerasia* case. The Tydings Senate subcommittee is conducting independent investigations. It is therefore appropriate to review what is already known about the charges that the government is, or was, infested with Communists or fellow-travelers who five years ago gave secret documents to *Amerasia's* editor for the benefit of Soviet Russia, that the State Department harbored a pro-Communist bloc which deliberately "sold out" Chiang Kai-shek and furthered Russian aims in China, and that the Department of Justice bungled, fixed, or whitewashed the *Amerasia* case so that nefarious culprits escaped with trivial or no punishment.

The *Amerasia* case originally involved six people—

Philip Jaffe, editor of the magazine, and Kate Mitchell, coeditor; Lieutenant Andrew Roth, then with the Office of Naval Intelligence and now a staff contributor of *The Nation*; Emmanuel Sigurd Larsen, a State Department official who had previously worked for Naval Intelligence; John Stewart Service, another State Department official; and Mark Gayn, a reporter specializing in Far Eastern affairs. All six were arrested June 6, 1945, on a complaint charging conspiracy to violate the espionage laws. Miss Mitchell, Service, and Gayn were cleared by a grand jury. Jaffe, Larsen, and Roth were indicted, not for espionage, but on the much less serious charge of conspiracy to steal government records. The Justice Department did not recommend a jail sentence, and Jaffe pleaded guilty on September 29, 1945, and paid a \$2,500 fine. Larsen pleaded no contest on November 2 and paid a \$500 fine. The case against Roth was dismissed without prosecution after Roth's counsel obtained an order directing the Justice Department to state exactly what government documents, if any, he was accused of conspiring to take.

There is no doubt that *Amerasia* had obtained quantities of government reports, papers, and paraphrases of papers. The FBI seized, in connection with the arrest of Jaffe, hundreds of documents. Two questions emerge: How about espionage? And was there a "whitewash" in the prosecution? Luckily we are not dependent on guesses, since the *Amerasia* case was thoroughly investigated nearly four years ago by a House committee headed by Representative Sam Hobbs of Alabama, a Democrat of unimpeachably conservative reputation. The report of the Hobbs committee has been public property since 1946; the transcript of most of its hearings was printed in the *Congressional Record* last May 22. Certain facts emerge clearly from this transcript and from statements by Mr. Hobbs.

WHY did the government make deals with Jaffe and Larsen letting these defendants escape with fines? The answer seems to be that the government's legal case was tainted at its inception because one Frank Brooks Bielaski, then an Office of Strategic Services security officer, raided the *Amerasia* offices without a search warrant. Bielaski told the Hobbs committee that he and other agents entered the office "close to midnight" on March 11, 1945, after deceiving building custodians about their purpose. James P. McGranery, then assistant to Attorney General Tom Clark, testified that Bielaski seized documents from the office "through burglarizing the place."

Furthermore, it appears that FBI agents, after taking over the investigation, entered the living quarters of at least two of the three indicted persons without search warrants. No agent testified to this, so far as the Hobbs committee transcript shows, but Larsen filed a motion

to suppress the evidence after learning from the janitor of his apartment that government agents had obtained a key to the door. It was at this moment that the Department of Justice agreed to recommend a fine and not a jail sentence if Jaffe would plead guilty.

While politicians and newspapers may scream "whitewash," there is a clear line of Supreme Court decisions holding that prosecutors who have gained information illegally cannot use the information in a trial even if later they obtain the same information in a purportedly legal way. They cannot use the "fruit of the poisonous tree." Representative Dondero of Michigan argued on the House floor last month that it was "almost incredible" that the FBI should arrest the *Amerasia* defendants and then find themselves "in a position that what they did was entirely illegal." And Hobbs replied: "I am saying that the record shows that they did in these cases exactly what the gentleman hypothesizes."

What about espionage? It is known that Jaffe visited Earl Browder and that the *Amerasia* office acquired government documents, but no FBI agent testified before the Hobbs committee that Jaffe or anyone else passed secret information to a foreign country or a foreign agent. The prosecutors told the committee that they found "no evidence of disloyalty." Five years after the case, in a time of cold war, Congressmen under the cloak of immunity can easily fling charges about. The problem the Justice Department had in 1945 was one of proof in court.

DID the Administration ever try to "slow down" arrests in the case? Yes, on one occasion, and it succeeded for exactly four days. Myron Gurnea, FBI agent in charge of the case, testified that he "understood" somebody at the San Francisco conference of the United Nations wanted arrests delayed until after the conference was ended. James M. McNerney, now chief of the Criminal Division, remembers that on May 31, 1945, he was asked to delay matters. This is confirmed by the recently disclosed entry for May 28, 1945, in the diary of the late James Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Forrestal noted that he had suggested a delay because the arrest of the six people at that moment might embarrass President Truman "in his current conversations with Stalin because of the anti-Russian play-up the incident would receive out of all proportion to its importance. . . ." The President's naval aide and the Justice Department were made aware of this Forrestal attitude and were requested to confer with the President. Acting Secretary of State Grew and Assistant Secretary Holmes protested to President Truman on June 2, and the President told the FBI to proceed at once. The arrests were made four days later.

Some aspects of the *Amerasia* case still need clarification. It is not yet known who passed all the documents to

Jaffe. The whole matter raises the question whether an Official Secrets Act might be written which would protect documents legitimately kept secret without interfering with the public's need for information about policy. It would be interesting, also, to know how Representative Dondero, who made a speech in the House about the Bielaski documents on November 28, 1945, knew about

them at a time when the papers were still under seal.

What about the sensational top-secret military documents—one describing "A Bomb Plan for Japan" and one giving the location of Japanese fleet units after the Battle of Leyte—alleged to have been seized in the *Amerasia* office? This and other questions will be considered in a second article, to appear next week.

Pablo Casals—Freedom's Artist

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Prades, France, June 5

FOR a few days Prades will be the capital of the world. This charming village in the old French province of Roussillon, just across the eastern Pyrenees from Spain, has been the home of Pablo Casals since 1938. Now it is filled with a cosmopolitan crowd of visitors who have come for the most important and moving music festival of our time. All nationalities are seen along the Alameda, walking under the century-old plane trees. Anglo-Saxons predominate. Hundreds of Americans have crossed the Atlantic expressly to hear the music and to show Casals that they are in complete agreement with his decision not to play in the United States while American policy persists in "the intolerable hypocrisy of talking day and night about democracy and at the same time supporting the power of Franco." People have come from Alaska, from Texas, from New York, San Francisco, and Chicago; some wear the old buttons used in the American campaign for Republican Spain, inscribed "Break off relations with Franco!"

The *payeses* of Prades, the Roussillon peasants, are of the same racial stocks as the Catalans. They are extraordinarily vigorous and often live to be eighty, ninety, or even a hundred years old; a man who dies at seventy, they say, is "too young to die." They smile cheerfully as they show you your way through the quaint, narrow streets, and they make it clear to the strangers who have gathered here to salute one of the great citizens of the world, great as a man and as an artist, that they are proud of their village and its distinguished exile. Viewed from Prades, how little those artists look who capitulated to Spanish fascism—a Salvador Dali, an Andrés Segovia. Pablo Casals exposes once and for all the falsity of the comfortable, egotistical philosophy of the artist who feels himself "above politics," "above good and evil"—and usually ends by living in ignoble subjection to some fascist dictator or by trying to conceal with his art the infamies of a brutal regime.

Mario Aguilar, one of the best of the Spanish writers now in exile, has called Casals "the first member of the European Resistance." Hitler persecuted the Jews, in-

cluding Jewish musicians; Casals, even before the Spanish war, refused to play in Germany. Mussolini attacked Abyssinia and the anti-Fascist Toscanini; Casals refused to play in Italy. When the war in Spain was officially ended, Casals retired to Prades and devoted himself to helping the Spanish refugees, in defiance of the Gestapo and Pétain's police. The

Liberation found him living in a humble cottage on an income of \$150 a month. But he refused to go to the United States, where he could have earned millions, as long as Washington supported Franco.

Casals was a great artist from the beginning. He played in Paris for the first time on November 1, 1899. He had arrived a few weeks earlier in the city that at the turn of the century was the intellectual capital of the world with a letter from Count Morphy, the private secretary of Queen Maria Cristina of Spain, to the famous musician Charles Lamoureux. He found the maître studying the score of "Tristan und Isolde," in preparation for directing the first performance of that opera in Paris. Lamoureux was absorbed in his task and irritated by the interruption, but out of courtesy he said, "Play something." "What?" asked Casals. "Anything," said Lamoureux—"the Lalo concerto." Casals began to play. In a few minutes the maître looked up from the "Tristan" score. At first he was curious, then astonished, then enchanted. At the end he embraced his young visitor and said, "Will you play at my next concert? You shall play and I will direct the orchestra that bears my name." That was the beginning of Casals' career as the finest violoncellist in musical history.



Balbino Giner
Pablo Casals

His success did not affect his devotion to the cause of liberty and social justice. When France was divided by the political and racial issues of the Dreyfus affair, he was an ardent Dreyfusard. Eugene Carrière, who painted his portrait, said to him, "I have painted the two most celebrated Pauls in France, Paul Verlaine and Paul Casals," but Casals reminded him of that other Paul, the humble printer who was harassed by the Spanish monarchy for defending the rights of the workers—Pablo Iglésias, the founder of the Spanish Socialist movement which later produced the heroes of Asturias and the civil war.

Casals' love for the common people elevated him to a political and moral level which fitted him to be an unmatched interpreter of the music of Bach, whose second centenary furnished the occasion for the festival at Prades. In 1932 the Spanish Republic voted to grant autonomy to Catalonia. When the statute embodying this decision was received at the palace of Montjuich in Barcelona, Casals directed the Ninth Symphony before an enthusiastic multitude. Manuel Azaña, head of the Republican government, commented, "Catalonia receives autonomy singing the Ode to Joy."

Toward the end of 1938 he played again in Barcelona. It was one of the worst moments of our war; the city was under fire. After his last piece he took up the microphone and, speaking first in English and then in French, said to listeners abroad: "Do not commit the crime of letting the Spanish Republic be murdered. If you allow Hitler to win in Spain, you will be the next victims of his madness. The war will spread to all Europe, to the whole world. Come to the aid of our people!"

The first time he saw me in Prades he recalled that day. Knowing that he was always nervous before a concert, I had not wanted to disturb him on my arrival, and had not even joined the crowd which rushed down the aisles of the cathedral at the close of his first recital and besieged him in the sacristy, congratulating him and asking for his autograph. At midnight when he left to attend a reception in his honor given by the mayor, he discovered me in the little cathedral square. He took both my hands in his, but neither of us was able to speak for emotion. At last he said, "Do you remember that day in Barcelona?" I had not seen him since then. Twelve years had been filled with the bitterness of exile, with rage against the democracies which had deceived and continue to deceive the people of Spain. "And these Americans, what do they say?" he asked. "Do they still think only of their need for landing fields and bases? Don't the Spanish people count at all?" He shifted to Britain. "I was in London," he said, "in 1945. The Labor Party had just taken power. I had had my hopes. But no; politics again, new betrayals! They wanted me to see Cripps. I remembered his excellent position during the Spanish war. But now—now that he

was in office—nothing courageous, nothing decisive for Spain. Instead hesitations, the need to go along with Washington. I refused to see him. I said: 'He is going to talk politics to me; I talk only morals, justice.'"

Then, after a pause, he turned to the other subject that was on his mind. "Did you hear well?" he asked; the acoustics of the cathedral had been worrying him during the weeks of preparation for the festival. The solution of this and similar problems had been left to his brother, a violinist, who had come to play in the orchestra, together with distinguished instrumentalists from all over the world—among them, Joseph Szigeti, Alexander Schneider, Isaac Stern, Marcel Tabutreau, Paul Baumgarten, Jean Wummer, and Fernando Valenti.

Casals is playing better than ever before. As director of the orchestra he shows all the vigor of a young man; no one would believe he is seventy-three years old. Since there can be no applause in a church, the audience renders homage by standing each time the maestro enters. He directs sitting down but at climactic moments raises his slight body to its full height. He is as modest, as sensitive, as he is great.

Monsignor Pinson, Bishop of Saint-Flour, occupied a seat in the front row and gave an address of welcome to the artists and the audience. (Cardinal Spellman, who went to see Franco but not Casals and became one of Franco's most ardent supporters in the United States, should take note.) Franco was furious at the whole affair. His radio continually blared denunciations of the festival as an example of "Moscow's diabolical machinations against Spain," and harped on the presence in Prades of "notorious Communists like Alvarez del Vayo and Negrín." Negrín was in fact there, as were many Spanish intellectuals, writers, and painters. (A very interesting exhibition of the work of Catalan painters has been installed in a house opposite the cathedral. The sketches of Casals by Giner which illustrate this article are included.)

Franco refused to allow anyone in Spain to go to hear Casals play. All Spanish passports issued or extended in recent weeks have borne the notation: "Going to Prades is forbidden between June 2 and 20." But in spite of Franco's prohibition one man *walked* from Barcelona to Prades, a two days' journey, crossing the frontier secretly. Casals received him at once, between two Bach concertos.

Among the thousands of letters and telegrams which Casals has received from all parts of the world—the postman can hardly carry them all to the maestro's house—is one which he keeps in a place of honor on his table; I saw it when I visited him on the morning after the first concert. It came from a man in a Spanish prison, who wrote, "Some day you will play in liberated Spain." Casals' eyes were luminous with feeling as he looked at it, and he said, "On that day I shall truly play well."

Satisfaction at General Motors

BY AARON LEVENSTEIN

DETROIT is satisfied. The rank and file have ratified the extraordinary settlement reached by General Motors and the United Automobile Workers. Even anti-Reuther locals have indorsed the five-year contract with a thumping vote. For once, though, the union was not the architect of the settlement. The terms were drafted by the corporation's strategists and presented to the union leaders. The company was thoroughly prepared and knew what it wanted. The settlement came quickly because the union also knew what it wanted—and how much it was strong enough to get. Some company executives thought G. M. was giving too much; some union members thought the workers were being tied up for too long. But the objections evaporated under the common realization that further argument and a possible strike would be too costly.

The toughest provision for the union to take was the five-year duration of the contract. The corporation began negotiations by presenting the union with the challenge, "You want a five-year pension fund—why not a five-year contract?" Its length is probably what has led many editorial writers to describe the contract as "historic." Yet this is the feature that is least likely to be duplicated. Few industries are operating in a market that seems assured so far into the future. And few companies have so large a portion of the market guaranteed to them as G. M. has. Even if the present boom in automobiles tapers off at the end of eighteen months, as some of the union economists expect, the international arms race assures the automobile manufacturers' prosperity. G. M.'s seemingly guaranteed annual corporate income made possible a generous settlement.

What do we do at G. M. in the next five years? is now a question for the union, and it is not easily answered by leaders who must rally their membership periodically if they are to maintain union loyalty and militancy. One of the by-products of frequent negotiations—not generally recognized as important by the public—is the renewal of solidarity that comes with crisis. Since the strike is an instrument for union security as well as for economic gains, the union could not afford to accept the five-year term without some guaranty of its organizational integrity. Early in the negotiations the company had given the impression that it anticipated little difficulty on pensions, wages, and other economic

issues, but it had declared that it would stand firmly against the union shop demanded by Reuther. Its retreat from that position paved the way for the union's acceptance of a five-year contract. The company granted a modified union shop in return for five years of uninterrupted production.

The modifications are not serious: for all practical purposes the U. A. W. has its union shop. Old employees must keep their membership. Newly hired employees must join, though an escape clause allows them to withdraw at the end of a year; experience with the wartime maintenance-of-membership clauses shows that few workers pull out. Old employees who have stayed out of the union don't have to join. It was they who furnished the company with its real reason for resisting the union shop—you can't abandon the people who have "stuck by you." Their actual number is disputed. The company estimates that 25 per cent of the eligible employees are non-union. The U. A. W. claims the figure is exaggerated. It asserts that 242,000 workers are now on the dues check-off. According to the company's Labor Relations Director, Louis G. Seaton, from 270,000 to 280,000 employees are covered by the agreement. That would leave some 40,000 G. M. workers still to be organized, giving the union leaders at least one job to do during the next five years, and a rather difficult one.

But such an organizational campaign is hardly the answer to the question of what to do during the life of the contract. Recognizing this, the union leaders look to a union service that the public generally ignores—namely, the day-by-day handling of grievances. Few newspaper readers realize that a union contract, like a marriage contract, marks the beginning of a relationship, not the end. In an empire like G. M. thousands of minor disputes occur annually over individual job classification, seniority, work load, working conditions, and the like. The full-time umpires will be very busy. In addition, the union expects to be occupied with a variety of questions arising from changing production standards, technological advances, and the introduction of new models, as well as with wage rates for new jobs, health and hazard considerations, and local seniority provisions. On all these the union has still the right to strike if the grievance machinery fails to provide a solution.

Significantly, the only criticism I heard of the substantive economic terms of the new agreement concerned production standards. The traditional provision that makes the setting of standards a management prerogative, subject to appeal through the grievance machinery,

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was retained, but some rank-and-filers feel that the union ought to bargain positively on the work load. The leaders want to keep hands off for fear they may be led into greater responsibility for production. Some of them question whether they are not already bound by too strong a commitment to increase productivity. At this stage of American labor's progress unionism's relation to the problem of raising output is not clear-cut. The next five years at G. M. may produce a definition.

THE way to a settlement had been paved before the actual negotiations opened. Whereas Chrysler did not bother to hire an actuary to work out its pension problems until long after negotiations began, G. M.'s representatives spent four months with the union's statisticians collecting data. When the high officials on both sides met they were able to deal with realities, and the issue was disposed of rapidly.

That had been anticipated. The surprise came when the union decided to retain the two-way cost-of-living escalator clause. Some months ago, when the cost of living was declining and cash pay had dropped three cents an hour, Reuther had said flatly that the clause would have to go. With the price index rising, its acceptance became fairly easy; by next September there may be an additional penny in the pay envelope. Moreover, the union felt that its membership understood the difference between cash wages and real wages. Since inflation began to nullify the dollar increases, the educational department has talked a lot of economics.

The most startling feature of the economic package was the provision for a regular 4-cents-a-year increase during the next five years as labor's share of the benefits of improved technology. The principle had been introduced in the 1948 contract, the annual raise then being only 3 cents. Now this automatic "annual improvement factor" becomes a virtually permanent feature of G. M.'s wage policy. The company has committed itself, come what may in the next five years, to give the union an annual 2½ per cent increase in real wages—an increase that can't be vitiated by a rise in the cost of living. The benefits will prove to be even greater if the cost of living drops, since the contract puts a floor under downward adjustments. When the company offered the clause to Reuther, its spokesman concluded, "And if we hear any bitching about this clause, we'll tell you where we got it." Reuther read it and asked, "Where did you get it?" "From one of your speeches." "There's one thing you left out," said Reuther, "no price rises."

In terms of real wages the company has indeed committed itself to the largest increase in the history of the industry. It has done so on the fairly safe assumption that productivity will increase and unit labor costs drop. It has assumed, too, that the company's market will be good—an equally safe bet. But even if the automobile

market shrinks and the cold war ends, the company has a lot of elbow room. Its present price level certainly allows for an absorption of the pay increases; and its competitive position would allow prices to be raised if necessary. Furthermore, management has not given away all the benefits of technological improvements. Adjustments in the volume of output and the number of people employed would still leave the company functioning profitably. Its risk is not great.

The workers' gains are immediate and substantial. As figured by Nat Weinberg, Reuther's research director whom the men call "Digit," the immediate increases in terms of pensions, medical care, vacations, the 1950 "annual improvement" raise, and other adjustments add up to an estimated 19 cents. In the next four years the improvement factor will give an additional flat 16-cent raise. This represents a total gain in buying power of 35 cents an hour. During the past four years G. M. workers got increases amounting to 45½ cents an hour, but owing to rising living costs the union estimates that the net gain in purchasing power was only 6 cents an hour. The economic gains are so clear that even Reuther's bitterest opponents have not dared to make a real attack on the size of the increases.

WITH respect to the long-range significance of the settlement, the union's policy-makers recognize that the effect of their contract is to say: We have won an immediate increase in our wages, which represent our share in the distribution of G. M.'s income. We consent to that proportionate division. For the next five years we shall ask for increases only if increased productivity results from technological progress in the industry. In other words, the union now looks only to increased profits as the source of raises in the five years ahead. For the greater productivity which will bring greater profits the union accepts a vague measure of responsibility. The "annual improvement factor" clause says expressly that "a continuing improvement in the standard of living of employees depends upon technological progress, better tools, methods, processes, and equipment, and a cooperative attitude on the part of all parties in such progress." The union, however, underscores the contract's reference to "the principle that to produce more *with the same amount of human effort* is a sound economic and social objective."

Actually the union is not satisfied with the present division of G. M.'s income between owner and worker. But as one U. A. W. spokesman reasoned, "We're convinced that this package is so big that we couldn't get more by frequent reopening of the wage question." At most, the union asserts, this contract "brings nearer to balance the distorted wage-price-profit relationship that makes for economic instability and human insecurity. . . . This contract, while immediately and substantially in-

creasing the G. M. workers' share in the nations' output, still falls short of giving G. M. workers their full equity in the national economy."

Thus the union will continue to demand a redistribution of the proceeds of the industry, scheduling for 1955 its next effort to achieve a more favorable ratio.

WHAT will happen in the rest of the industry in the meantime? Other companies will not follow the G. M. settlement; nor is the union likely to ask them to. It wants to be free in the immediate future to press upon the industry as a whole the concept of a guaranteed annual wage as a cushion against unemployment. That the new contract precludes such a demand at G. M. for five years may be an obstacle, though the union leaders think not. They believe that the guaranteed annual wage, if it comes, will originate elsewhere and that G. M. will then follow with a more generous plan. Despite its contractual protection against new demands, the company could ill afford the cost in lowered morale of withholding a security granted by weaker companies.

While the U. A. W. is congratulating itself on recovering the prestige it lost in the Chrysler siege, the G. M. management is also content. It is now set to take advantage of favorable economic conditions. Its economic analysts believe that the recession last year was comparable to the depression of 1921 after World War I and that we are about to enter a period somewhat like

1923-29. There will be some localized strikes, still permissible within the contract, and perhaps a number of wild-cat strikes to let off steam. But the corporation will face no large-scale stoppages. It will thus be in a position to step up efficiency, plan the next five years with a more certain knowledge of costs, and prepare for the ultimate down-turn in the business cycle.

Five years of stable labor relations will also give it an opportunity to carry out its long-planned "employee relations" program. G. M. has been spending millions of dollars in the effort to cultivate a more company-conscious attitude on the part of employees. Whatever gains it made in this direction in the past were promptly erased when contract negotiations were undertaken. Now it will probably have five unbroken years in which to woo its workers. Two courses are open to it. It can compete with the union for the loyalty of the workers, or it can organize its personnel activities with due regard for the union. If it chooses to fight, the union will probably win. If it adopts the second approach, it will still have to overcome the suspicions of the union.

The first real test of G. M.'s intentions will come when new union members are free, after a year of membership, to resign from the U. A. W. One straw in the wind is the fact that the company has already indicated to its plant managers that it wants to deal with a responsible union and disapproves of any resistance to union membership.

Can Europe Be United?

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

EVEN official circles have come to realize that it was utterly unrealistic, a miscalculation of the European and world situation, to assume that Europe would be economically independent after four years of the Marshall Plan. In recent months, therefore, we have heard repeated demands for a radical change in the entire political structure of Europe—that is, for the creation, ultimately, of a United States of Europe.

This development would probably be welcomed not only by most Americans but also by an overwhelming majority of Europeans outside the Russian orbit. Indeed, it has been made urgent by the political transformation of the countries on the Eurasian continent

which were once the markets for the "factory" of Western Europe but now trade chiefly with each other and with Russia. Moreover, it is becoming very clear that in an epoch like the present, when the world is dominated by great powers, Europe can maintain itself as an independent entity between the two giants—the United States and the Soviet Union—only if it represents a third great power itself.

During the last three decades the productivity of the United States has increased much more than that of Europe. The Second Report of the European Recovery Program points out that "in the thirty years before the recent war the industrial output per man-hour in the United States increased by perhaps 3 per cent per annum. In the main industrial countries of Western Europe it is unlikely that the annual rate of increase was much more than half as great." A united Europe, however, would gradually catch up, and if during the process peace could be preserved, it would eventually become a tremendously strong third power. Even today it would have a production far higher than that of the

FRITZ STERNBERG, well-known economist and author, is now revisiting Europe. He will examine the obstacles to integration offered by the social structure of the various states and discuss the problem further in another article. He has completed a new book, "Capitalism on Trial," to be brought out early next year.

Soviet bloc; and the development of a unified market might finally enable it to rival the productivity of the United States and serve as a stabilizing influence on the world balance of power.

But while a United States of Europe is generally considered a desirable goal, there is much disagreement about the means that should be used to attain it. American policy at present favors closer "integration" of Europe as a major step toward federation—this integration to be promoted by a "payment union" on the one hand, and on the other by liberalizing Europe's internal trade through the elimination or reduction of customs barriers.

Great Britain is against a payment union, and it is doubtful whether a compromise between the American and the British view can be reached: in any case the effects of a payment union should not be overrated. Though it was not known by that name, a payment union did in fact exist before World War I, when francs, guilders, marks, and pounds sterling could be freely exchanged and all European currencies could be converted into dollars. The ease of exchange did not, however, work for the greater unity of Europe. On the contrary, while it prevailed, the antagonism among the European states steadily increased until it erupted in World War I. Only in combination with other factors will a payment union contribute to the integration of Europe. Whether these other factors will be brought into operation in the near future is the great question. Can we expect that within the next few years the European states will level their customs barriers and renounce a considerable share of their sovereignty in economic matters? Let us examine the facts.

The movement for a United States of Europe is gathering force in a period of world history very different from that which led to the formation of the United States of America. The United States was created when agriculture was still predominant; indeed, for almost a hundred years afterward the majority of the population were farmers. That is why, by and large, American industries sprang up in those geographical locations where they could be most productive.

In Europe industries grew up in the various countries long before there was any thought of ultimate integration or union. Often they developed behind high tariff walls. In the individual national state they came into being wherever they were most productive, but if Europe is considered as a whole, its industries are found to be located in places that are by no means the most advantageous. Any plan for the real economic integration of Europe would show that many factories, indeed entire industries, are unproductive where they are now situated. Tremendous changes would be necessary to increase the continent's production, and the first result would be dislocation and unemployment.

In my opinion no such reconstruction of the European productive plant is likely to be undertaken very soon, first, because Europe is at present not rich enough, and second because its social structure is too heterogeneous. Already we see how difficult it is to unify even a limited economic area, such as steel and coal, by agreement between countries whose structures differ as much as do those of France and Britain.

IN THE discussions aimed at reducing the dollar gap in European foreign trade considerable prominence has been given to the question whether Europe's exports to the United States can be increased by about one billion dollars a year. American industries now producing the goods that might under those circumstances be imported would of course suffer, and it has been suggested that the American government might assist them until they could adjust themselves to the changed conditions. American reserves are quite adequate for this task. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether the United States could carry out a policy of facilitating imports on a major scale against the inevitable opposition of powerful interests. And if such a policy would be unacceptable, Congress could certainly never be expected to abolish *all* custom duties on European imports to the United States.

In Europe the situation is a thousand times less favorable. The various nations have but scanty gold and dollar reserves; without American aid their economic systems would undergo severe crises, not only in 1950 but also in 1952. Lacking reserves to cushion the shock of the transitional period, they would find adjustment to closer integration extremely difficult. Moreover, the painful effects—the closing down of factories and possibly of whole industries in certain places and certain countries, with the resultant large-scale unemployment—would be felt *immediately*, while the benefits in increased productivity would be realized gradually over an extended period. The European nations would have to assume a terrific burden without any assurance of aid that would enable them to hold out until the fruits of the change-over could be garnered. Their own governments have not sufficient resources to give such aid. Only the continuation of the Marshall Plan beyond 1952, with the proviso that part of the money be set aside to compensate industries and workers for the sacrifices necessitated by the transition, would help the situation.

The United States has so far merely urged European countries to speed up the integration process, while concurrently insisting that the Marshall Plan must end in 1952. Without a decisive change in American policy on this point no substantial progress toward integration can be expected. And even the certainty that the Marshall Plan would be extended would probably not induce action. This brings us to the second obstacle to

unity—the heterogeneous social structure of Europe.

The capitalist system throughout Europe has been shaken to the core, but the separate countries have reacted in different ways. In England the Labor Party is trying to bring about a socialist transformation of society and the economy within the framework of democratic principles. In Germany the Adenauer government, with American support, is trying to revive the system of free enterprise under the handicap of widespread unemployment. Because of the universal impoverishment caused by the war, the state must play a major role in industrial reconstruction and the achievement of integration. As long as the Labor Party is in power in England, it will not permit the benefits it has brought to English workers through nationalization and economic planning to be jeopardized by an integration of Europe forcibly promoted by the United States.

Military considerations reinforce the demand for European integration, and for that reason politics, not economics, will play the leading role in bringing it about. Decisive steps to further it, however, will probably be taken only after the social and political structures of the leading nations have, through slow processes of change, come closer to one another.

BESIDE THE POINT

THE people who write the menus for popular restaurants and for the lunch counters in the big chain drugstores are obviously displaced poets, survivors of the lily-gilding school long since nosed out by the pessimistic moderns (who won't take yes for an answer and even cast doubts on the authenticity of the lily's original hue).

The breathless accents of these poets *manqués* are easily recognizable. They live in a world where toast is always "golden brown," tomatoes "red-ripe," mashed potatoes "creamy," omelets "fluffy," ice cream "smo-o-oth"—where everything in short, or rather in long, is delightful, satisfying, and delicious.

Consider these excited periods (not to mention exclamation points and capitals) to hot chocolate:

Of course it's different! AT ONCE, you can sense . . . HIGH . . . quality in our HOT CHOCOLATE! Watch it, made to your order, poured from its crisp white individual envelope into a special cup! Then, when it is placed before you, note how the fine dark color and rich aroma give promise of rare delightful refreshment . . . not only unusually good but different!

Or this program note for "Old-Fashioned Missouri Strawberry Shortcake":

Down in the scenic Ozarks the scent of strawberries fills the air. Each morning shy maidens pluck these

luscious ruby-red berries still moist with dew and start them on their way so we may serve you this masterpiece.

This particular dish was even celebrated in an advertisement in the *Herald Tribune*, where it was avowed to be "fervid as a maiden's kiss." A noble line, and we can imagine the author's joy at being published.

On the menu of the same restaurant the unassuming and hitherto unsung beet was billed as "red," and as we left we picked up a scrap of paper which the poet of the place had obviously dropped. On it was a verse-in-progress running this way: "Beets are red, Violets are blue, Our sugar is sweet . . ." We can't wait to see it in its finished form. We figure it ought to make the *Daily News*.

We refrained from trying the Old-Fashioned Missouri Strawberry Shortcake for fear reality would dispel our vision of those Ozark maidens ruby-red and moist with dew. Once bitten, twice shy. (We mean us, not the maidens.) Early in our career as an aficionado of restaurant rhetoric we were so carried away that we actually ordered one of the "Tasty Features" of the day—the Choice, Fresh, Tender, Juicy, Grilled Chopped Sirloin on a Golden Brown Toasted Bun, with Red-Ripe Tomato Slices on Crisp Lettuce, a quarter of a Delicious Dill Pickle, and Crackly Curling Potato Chips. As nectar with which to wash down this ambrosia we commanded from the light-wristed Hebe in attendance upon our celestial board a Delicious, Foamy, Frosted Chocolate, Floating Luscious Tidbits of Velvet-Smo-o-oth, Heaven-Made Ice Cream, complete with a Golden Meadow-Fresh Straw.

The hamburger was no worse than usual, though it was small for its age; moreover, the juice had evaporated and therefore could not take the place of the butter which had been omitted because of the juice. The bun was a little scorched but well cooled; something had happened to make the tomato slices turn adamant and pale, and the lettuce looked as if it had been run over by a truckload of adjectives, but the dill pickle had come through intact, and the potato chips were as curly and soft as a Toni Twin's ringlets.

The milk shake was good. But we realized then that restaurant rhetoric is fragile stuff—the illusion it creates, like any illusion, must vanish at the first bite. Now when we get discouraged with life as it is, we repair to a drugstore lunch counter, order a cup of coffee—Hot, Rich, Fragrant, with Superbly Refined Sugar in Crisp White Individual Lumps and Yellow Kine-Ripened Cream—and glut our sorrow on the bill of fare.

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A BROADWAY FRIEND of ours who knows all about the theater but very little about politics wonders whether the North Atlantic Council is as hard to get into as "South Pacific."

M. M.

DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

Feathers from the Right Wing

RODNEY GILBERT, a special writer for the New York *Herald Tribune*, has been working hard for some years, in company with a man named Heptisax, at what might be called long-range viewing-with-alarm. Some newspapermen have speculated that one or the other of them might be in training for eventual succession to the job now held by Mark Sullivan, who goes in for both long-range and short-range visions of doom.

Their names have appeared alternately every Sunday morning for some years signed to the piece under the cartoon on the editorial page which reports the shenanigans of what both call the "left." Sometimes they consider *The Nation*, sometimes the *Daily Worker*, sometimes leaflets of splinter-Marxist parties so small that diligent search must be required to find them on the Bryant Park newsstands. Sometimes the "left" means China, the New Deal, the TVA, socialized medicine, or high taxes. Gilbert-Heptisax is against them all.

A few weeks ago Gilbert and Heptisax started on a subsidized junket to Formosa. What has happened to Heptisax is either a mystery or a military secret; but Gilbert is currently reporting by air mail on what is going on in Chiang Kai-shek's island of refuge. And a small miracle has taken place: he has become a man of hope.

Even his first impressions of the Formosans were reported in a tone of benevolent good nature which has not been heard in public about anything Chinese since the last of the old China hands abandoned the bar of the Shanghai Club. He found them "exceedingly good-tempered, law-abiding, and cooperative." Most of the servants with whom a visitor comes in contact, he said, "are neatly uniformed women, chubby, cheerful, fast-moving, and eager to please." This is the true Kipling touch; it came easy to empire builders but has proved harder and harder for their successors to recapture.

The cheerful natives generated such optimism in this foreign correspondent that he has happily ventured to compete with Cyrus Sulzberger of the

New York *Times* in reporting on areas at some distance from the place of his date line. Gilbert has described Shanghai and the Communist armies in detail, mentioning the fact that the Communists "are probably more eager to lose some doubtful elements than to feed them." This clarified for him the Nationalists' strategic master-stroke in evacuating Chusan, by which they cheated the Communists out of the satisfaction of losing some of their doubtful elements in battle. Possibly mistaking an eight ball for a crystal one, he wrote on May 28: "I now have a hunch that Formosa will not fall and that the crack-up of the Communist military machine will invite counter-action from Taiwan on the mainland next spring." This was the same day on which the A. P. reported that the Nationalists had handed another group of islands, the Ladrones, to the Communists without a fight.

A few days later Gilbert sturdily commented on the superb fighting morale of the Nationalists on their last island. Money was running short, he admitted. To pay the bills without American help would require trebling taxation, "and nobody but the Communists would consider that." But a

tall, slender young man, "a nicely tailored young gallant with the perfect manners of a latter-day mandarin's son," assured him that the Communists could be beaten with a few dozen first-class fighting planes from America. This news source turned out to be a Tibetan whose calling card established him as the brother of the Dalai Lama. Reason doesn't totter, but it sways slightly at this new interpretation of the formerly unimaginative and honorable trade of foreign reporting.

The most reliable opinion in Formosa, Gilbert declares, holds "that when the red hordes make the attempt [to invade the island], they will throw everything into it that they have and lose it all. Then a swift counter-stroke across the channel will finish them." With the same unerring instinct for timing which characterized his hunch on Formosa, he sent this dispatch on the very day on which the A. P. reported that the Nationalists' Legislative Yuan on Formosa had recessed until September, because many of its members wanted to visit their relatives in the safety of British Hongkong. Their vacation, the A. P. pointed out, coincides with the expected time of the Communist invasion.

Come home, Mr. Gilbert, and bring Heptisax with you if you can find him. We have tough problems here, too, and the *Herald Tribune* and all America need you.

THE OBSERVER



THE NEXT THING IS TO RAISE THE WALL London Daily Herald

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Daydreams of a Nation

MOVIES: A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY. By Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites. The Free Press. \$4.

THE movies provide an indispensable key to popular culture. They are, as Miss Wolfenstein and Mr. Leites suggest, the "ready-made daydreams" of an industrial society. Where more relaxed cultures have tolerated private daydreaming, our own society rejects it as impractical and unproductive and instead puts daydreams themselves into mass production; our fantasy life, like everything else, has been mechanized. A study of movies, the authors of this interesting book argue, should enable us to identify "the recurrent daydreams which enter into the consciousness of millions of moviegoers" and thus to illuminate the popular psyche of our day.

Fantasies are always ambiguous; and "Movies: a Psychological Study" properly takes its cue from the notion of ambiguity. The characteristic pattern of American films, it contends, is an elaborate counterpoint between appearances and reality. The essential dramatic process, it argues, is not the development or transformation of character; it is rather the process of proof by which the original reality is triumphantly vindicated against the appearances which have placed it in a false and misleading light. The theme of "looking guilty but being innocent," of characters struggling to clear themselves from external accusations or misunderstandings, pervades American movies, whether tough melodrama or sentimental romance or slapstick comedy. The object of the plot is to dispel the incriminating false appearance; the climax arrives when it is demonstrated that what was supposed to have happened did not happen.

Miss Wolfenstein and Mr. Leites show how this characteristic pattern gives play to a wide range of psychological gratification.

It is in false appearances that the forbidden wishes are realized which the hero and heroine so rarely carry into action. . . . This device makes it possible for

us to eat our cake and have it, since we can enjoy the suggested wish-fulfillments without empathic guilt; we know that the characters with whom we identify have not done anything. The contention of American films is that we should not feel guilty for mere wishes.

Developing their central conception, the authors are able to make many penetrating remarks about the characters in American films—the "good-bad girl," the "masculine-feminine girl," the role of the onlooker in acting as a kind of deputy for the audience in sustaining the interplay between appearance and reality. They are also able to contrast in a vivid and convincing way the diverse dispositions which American, British, and French films make of the same subject matter.

"Movies: a Psychological Study" thus has a brilliant central idea. It develops that idea with care and polish and often with wit. Yet the book on the whole seemed to this reviewer curiously disappointing; one finishes it with the feeling that somehow there is less in it than meets the eye. It claims too much, and ends by proving too little. Fundamentally, perhaps, it leaves too much out; it consequently tends to set forth its psychological analysis as a single explanation for phenomena that obviously have many other causes, social, technical, or organizational.

Thus it tends to omit the influence of social events. By concentrating on films released in the year after September 1, 1945, the authors have excluded the kind of historical-sociological approach that Siegfried Kracauer employed with such signal success in "From Caligari to Hitler." Their America, moreover, is hardly the one which most of us know; it is rather that dream world constructed with so much sprightliness and ingenuity by Margaret Mead. The book, indeed, suffers from an intermittent tendency to regard the American film as primarily a means of vindicating the theorems of Miss Mead—and, what is worse, sometimes of Mr. Gorer. The devotion to Miss Mead even triumphs occasionally over the authors' own experience. Thus we are informed of "the strongly marked tendency of American films to

avoid putting women in any situation where they would appear ridiculous"—a generalization which apparently commends itself to Miss Mead more than it would to Joan Davis, Martha Raye, Charlotte Greenwood, and other Hollywood favorites. And as they tend to ignore history, so they tend to ignore literature. Some of the devices which they seem to regard as having been developed by Hollywood in unique and voluntary response to the American psychological predicament are, in point of fact, venerable literary tricks.

Even within their own frame of reference they are strangely indifferent to the star system. Actually the stars themselves often carry the burden of meaning which Miss Wolfenstein and Mr. Leites read too exclusively into the plots. They do make one or two wise comments on Hollywood personalities—Humphrey Bogart, for example, and Deanna Durbin; if they had only done this more extensively and systematically, they would have given their general argument more force and permanence. Certainly they could then have avoided the tiresome analysis of forgotten films which clutters up the text.

"Movies: a Psychological Study" suffers from the limitations of the purely psychological approach. It does not, in this reviewer's judgment, place the movies in a sufficiently varied context for entire understanding. But it is a rich and suggestive book, well worth the attention of students of our contemporary culture.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Africa in Transition

BLACK AND WHITE. By Martin Flavin. With Illustrations by Paul Whiman. Harper and Brothers. \$4.

LAST CHANCE IN AFRICA. By Negley Farson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$5.

NOW that the West is in full retreat from Asia, Africa is the last stronghold of colonialism, the last great area where huge colored populations are ruled by tiny white minorities. Some Englishmen and Americans also think

of it as the last frontier, a vast storehouse of unexploited wealth.

This is one of the illusions that Messrs. Flavin and Farson, like all serious students of Africa, are seeking to dispel. For the truth is that the growing population of the Dark Continent is pressing hard on the means of subsistence. There are no vast areas of unoccupied virgin soil, and much of the land, overcrowded with people and cattle, is being rapidly eroded. The primary need of Africa is conservation.

That, perhaps, is one of the few generalizations about Africa that can safely be made. Certainly it is not possible to talk about colonialism on that continent as if it took the same forms everywhere. These two books illustrate that fact very well, for the four political units with which they deal are all very different; and if either of the authors had gone on to investigate British West Africa, or the Portuguese colonies, they would have found still other types of political rule and economic organization.

"Black and White" is the record of a journey from Cape Town to the Congo. Its author, a successful American novelist and playwright, set off, I suspect, without a great deal of background knowledge. But he has a sharp eye, a keen ear, and a sympathetic imagination, and his unpretentious account of his experiences is both fresh and lively.

Mr. Flavin has divided his book into three unequal parts. The first two deal with South Africa and the Bechuanaland protectorate: the third is a much more detailed report on the Belgian Congo. In Johannesburg Mr. Flavin visited the steamy depths of a gold mine and the surface compound where the natives who perform all the unskilled work for a wage of about 40 cents a day are housed during the terms of their contracts. His brief, grim, restrained description of this trip tells us a great deal about the problems of South Africa, a country where self-determination for a white minority has meant helotry for a black population four times as numerous.

In Serowe, capital of Bechuanaland, Mr. Flavin saw a primitive people in the early stages of "the long agony of being civilized." His host there was Tshekedi Khama, then regent of the large Bamangwato tribe, who with very scanty resources was striving to forward

that process by building schools, since education appeared to him the first essential step toward an improvement of his community. In the author's opinion he was an earnest reformer but a rather unattractive personality and somewhat dictatorial in his methods, which may help to explain why the tribe turned against him when he sought the deposition of his nephew, Seretse Khama, whose marriage to an English girl has recently caused such an uproar.

Bechuanaland, on which the Union of South Africa is now casting covetous eyes, has hitherto been left pretty much to itself by its British protectors: it has been neglected rather than exploited. The Congo is a colony which is producing a great deal of mineral and vegetable wealth for its Belgian rulers, who are nevertheless, to some extent, acting as trustees for the native population. Mr. Flavin found a good many things to admire there as well as much to criticize, including some of the American missions. Avowedly paternalistic in their methods, the Belgians are at least making it possible for their wards to acquire those industrial and agricultural skills which they need to raise their living standards and, eventually, to run their own country.

Whether the fruits of civilization are worth its pains is a question that troubles the authors of both these books. Mr. Farson, who writes about the tangled problems of the British colony of Kenya in East Africa, is especially dubious, but he agrees with Mr. Flavin that, bitter or sweet, these fruits will be harvested: the African "is going to be forced, persuaded, cajoled into accepting our Western way of life." British East Africa, he points out, has become a strategic center, and Kenya has a small but very determined body of permanent white settlers who have obtained a large fraction of the best land and mean to hang on to it.

Kenya has no real resources except its land, and only by better use of the soil can its problems be solved. At present, despite desperate efforts by a handful of devoted colonial-service officers, erosion is proceeding at an alarming rate, the water table is falling, and the deserts that cover the northern half of the country are marching south. It is urgently necessary to educate the natives to understand the importance of conservation

and to secure their cooperation in practicing it. The biggest obstacle in the way, according to this book, is psychological—the black man's deep suspicion of the white, which often leads him to block projects conceived entirely in his interest in the belief that they have some ulterior purpose.

Readers of "Behind God's Back," Mr. Farson's previous book on Africa, need not be told that he is a good reporter. He has a bountiful curiosity, a gusto for life, a love of nature, and a genuine interest in all kinds and conditions of men. Unfortunately, in writing this book he did not take enough trouble in organizing his abundant material: he rambles, he repeats himself, he shoots off at tangents. Consequently, while his book has some fine descriptive passages and many flashes of insight, it lacks cohesion and leaves a rather blurred impression. Even so, it should be read by anyone interested in Africa and particularly by those who think that the ills of that unhappy continent can be cured by liberal doses of capital and Western democracy.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Garrison and Phillips

TWO FRIENDS OF MAN. By Ralph Korngold. Little, Brown and Company. \$5.

RALPH KORNGOLD, known for his historical studies of French revolutionists, has turned to the American scene in this book and picked for his "two friends of man" the leaders of the Abolition movement, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison. He could not have found more contrasting types than Phillips of the Boston Brah-

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mins and Garrison, a printer and editor of working-class origin. Yet these two towered above the small group of devoted men and women who organized the first Abolitionist society of any serious intent, and from 1837 on to the Emancipation Proclamation worked together as a team so successfully that unlike most agitators they lived to see the victory of their cause.

Mr. Korngold tells the story of the interwoven lives of these two men as though this were the first authoritative biography of either. Surprisingly his assumption is correct, since previous biographies have been marred by hero-worshipping families or adulatory admirers of the two reformers who have pictured their subjects as perfectionists. The Korngold book appears at a time when many historians of the middle years show a tendency to belittle the enormous labors of the Abolitionists, their outstanding courage, their shining devotion to their cause—the immediate abolition of black slavery. Only the other day an American historian of some reputation dismissed Garrison as an “editor of an ill-tempered paper in Boston.” The outgoing, great-hearted Wendell Phillips is frequently pictured as a fanatic who would dismember the Union in order to be rid of the “peculiar institution” of the South, and their original little band of devoted followers

is set down as a group of crackpot reformers in contrast to the statesman-like attitude of the leaders of the newly formed Republican Party.

If Mr. Korngold's volume comes to a younger generation of Americans as a corrective to the somewhat contemptuous attitude of some of our older historians, it will have served its purpose. The cause of the Abolitionists at the beginning seemed to be among the most hopeless ever advocated by American agitators. Against them were arrayed all-powerful forces, North and South, whose economic interests depended on the continuation and expansion of the slave trade. When Garrison wrote on the masthead of the *Liberator*: “I will be harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. . . . I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard,” the promise seemed wildly unlikely of fulfillment. Yet within the comparatively short space of thirty-three years that promise had been made good. Chattel slavery had been abolished and the entire face of the continent had been changed.

After Lee's surrender Garrison gradually withdrew from active agitation but not Phillips, who saw the new industrialism following fast upon the war,

despoiling the land, oppressing the poor, and corrupting the government. In his twilight years Phillips took up labor's cause with the enthusiasm of a youngster. He rejected the support of the Republicans, already wallowing in the mire of “Reconstruction,” to accept the Massachusetts Labor Party's nomination for governor, defended labor's right to organize, espoused the cause of the workingman in all parts of the world from Ireland to Russia, and in general proved himself as devoted a friend of free labor in the North as he had been the leading advocate of Negro emancipation. In his sixty-ninth year Harvard asked him to deliver the Phi Beta Kappa oration. In what was probably the greatest of all his speeches he excoriated the scholar in the republic for refusing full participation in the affairs of the day, having of course Abolition chiefly in mind, and when a friend remarked to him that he had handled his distinguished audience without gloves, Phillips replied, “Well, I supposed they wanted me to bring myself.” Phillips died in 1884, five years after the death of his team-mate. These two “friends of man,” more than any other forces in America, had brought about our second American revolution. The repercussions still sound in our ears today.

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A Village in Quebec

THE OUTLANDER. By Germaine Guevremont. Translated by Eric Sutton. Whittlesey House. \$3.

THE eastern provinces of Canada and the state of Maine are dotted with small French villages. As a whole, these communities remain isolated, having almost no contact either with their English-speaking neighbors or with one another. From time to time, however, political differences flare up into open conflict between those who speak the two languages. On occasion, as during the last war, these quarrels have had serious consequences. Those who wish to understand the French Canadians will find Germaine Guevremont's “The Outlander” an invaluable source of information. Although Mrs. Guevremont does not explore the social, economic, and political problems in specific terms, she re-creates a small Quebec settlement with such vivid and

all-embracing detail that all the serious aspects of French Canadian life are inherent in her novel.

Penetration into the life of these settlements is virtually impossible, for the outsider is bitterly resented. Time and again the villagers of Mrs. Guevremont's book fiercely express the belief that "no alien shall be admitted." However, the author has got deep inside her characters. Her pen is not always kindly. The people who emerge are stingy, clannish, suspicious, inhospitable, and malicious. At the same time they are industrious, honest, endowed with an astringent humor and a loyalty so intense that "though they have a perfect right to fight and quarrel if they wish, in the hour of birth as in the hour of death they forget their differences. They act together. The parish comes first."

The book is actually two novels, each dealing with an outlander who comes to the Inlet. The first of these is a young man whose name is never disclosed but who is simply known as "the stranger." He knocks one day on the door of the Inlet's patriarch, Didace, stays and works in the fields, and then one morning is gone, scarcely leaving a ripple on the slow-moving surface of the community. The second outlander is a buxom, laughing, middle-aged woman, known as the Acadian, who comes to the Inlet to marry Didace. Although she lives out her days in the village, she is never fully accepted and even at her death is still from the "outside."

For a relatively short novel, Mrs. Guevremont's volume contains a surprising number of fully developed characters. None among them is fully good or fully bad. With the exception of the Acadian, none enlists the sympathy of the reader—the petty bickering, the meanness, the intolerance of the inhabitants of the Inlet repel even while their stability and fierce pride invite admiration; yet each character has an integrity of his own and is worthy of a certain respect.

Mrs. Guevremont's writing is slow in pace, earthy, but extremely readable. Those uninterested in the social implications of her story will find in "The Outlander" a moving family chronicle that holds the interest throughout. Judged solely by literary standards, "The Outlander" deserves a place very close to the top of this year's crop of

novels. The first section of the book, published separately in France, won the Prix Duvernay in 1945. That a novel of such obvious merit should have had to wait five years before achieving publication in this country is scarcely a creditable commentary on American publishing.

WENZELL BROWN

Drama

MARGARET
MARSHALL

THE fabulous twenties are branded as a period of sin and gin, of post-war disillusionment and wild speculation. And so indeed they were. But George Kelly's play, "The Show-off," which has been revived at the Arena, could have been written only in the twenties; it is an expression of the period rather than a comment on it; as such it conveys vividly, and quite unintentionally, the context if not the content of that wicked decade; and we are reminded once more that this context was a truly fabulous compound of innocence and naivete, of wild energy and the sort of free-wheeling optimism that is a sheer emanation of energy. Which perhaps explains why we revealed in our disillusionment, where we now writhe, and why we took as wickedness, and enjoyed it, so much that now seems merely one form or another of sophistication.

There is neither wickedness nor disillusionment in "The Show-off." The show-off himself is a faithful and loving husband, and the young inventor of a rust-preventive is not cheated by "the interests" but sells his formula for a hundred thousand plus half the profits forever. "The Show-off" is a light sketch, to speak paradoxically, of the under rather than the top-side of the twenties. It is authentic nevertheless. It is also amusing. It is also well made and well written. And in Aubrey Piper, the show-off, Mr. Kelly conjured up a fresh characterization of an American perennial best known in his incarnation as Colonel Sellers. Lee Tracy plays the part to perfection; and the fact that in contour and in facial line and expression Mr. Tracy continually suggests W. C. Fields adds to the pleasure, nostalgic and other, which I for one took in his performance. The cast as a whole plays very well, and the piece is nicely paced.

The Arena is actually the ballroom of the Hotel Edison. I can't think of a better use for the waste space of hotel ballrooms. They must be a great deal cheaper, and certainly they are more plentiful, than regular theaters. And this one is air-cooled.

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THE American broadcasters' claim that the American way of financing broadcasting by advertising has given American listeners the finest programs in the world has never been true of musical programs. At their highest point—say three years ago—the networks' musical programs included the Boston, Philadelphia, N. B. C. Symphony, and New York Philharmonic Orchestras and the Metropolitan Opera in the winter (mostly crowded into the week-end), the networks' own orchestras and the Boston Symphony from Tanglewood in the summer, and beyond these only two or three half-hours at 11:30 weekday nights and a couple of half-hours early Sunday mornings—all of which did not even approximate in quantity and range the music presented every evening by the British Broadcasting Corporation and paid for by the British listeners' annual license fees. But since then A. B. C. has dropped the Boston Symphony and the early-Sunday half-hour of live chamber music; N. B. C. has dropped its late-weekday half-hour Story of Music; C. B. S. has dropped its celebrated Invitation to Music and a couple of other late-weekday half-hours; last summer A. B. C. dropped its spring and summer series by the A. B. C. Symphony, and N. B. C. which took over the Boston Symphony from Tanglewood,

changed the N. B. C. Symphony summer series to a "pops" series; and this summer C. B. S. has replaced the C. B. S. Symphony with recorded music (Columbia records of course). It would, I am sure, contend that it could not afford what the live orchestral programs would cost; but then it would be admitting that the American way of financing broadcasting by advertising can *not* provide the musical programs which should be offered the musical public.

On RCA Victor 78 rpm records (DM-1363, 3 12") Beethoven's Quartet Opus 18 No. 5 is well played by the Paganini Quartet. With treble reduced and bass stepped up the recorded sound is good, except on a couple of sides where the violin is sharp and brash and the over-all sound hard and shallow.

Two other fine early works of Beethoven, the Sonatas for violin and piano Opus 24 and Opus 31 No. 1, are played by Totenberg and Baller on an Allegro LP record (AL-47). Totenberg's playing is very good but a little small in scale; Baller's is not adjusted to his in scale and is excessively *affettuoso* in style. Surfaces are noisy.

The excessively *affettuoso* style—with a consequent lack of the force which the music should have—is heard in Baller's sensitive and finished performances of two engaging early piano sonatas of Beethoven, Opus 2 No. 1 and Opus 14 No. 1, on another Allegro record (AL-43). The recorded sound is weak in the upper treble; surfaces are gritty.

On another Allegro record (AL-46) are the Suite Italienne for violin and piano that Stravinsky arranged from "Pulcinella" and his violin-and-piano arrangement of the Divertimento from "Le Baiser de la fée," which are ingenious and attractive, but not as much so as the orchestral originals. The performances by Totenberg and Soulima Stravinsky are good; the recorded sound of the violin is—even with treble reduced—wiry and brash in the Suite, but natural and agreeable in the Divertimento; the surfaces of the red vinylite record are absolutely noiseless.

And some harpsichord pieces by Soler, Freixanet, Albeniz, Rodriguez, Galles, and Angles—individual and interesting, though not as rich and brilliant as Scarlatti's—are played by Fernando Valenti on still another Allegro

record (AL-45). The playing is very free in tempo and in its shaping of the music, and dynamic in style to the point of being too loud at times, but on the whole very fine. Surfaces are gritty.

From Mercury (MG-10016) come Brahms's two Sonatas Opus 120 for clarinet and piano, played by Kell and Horszowski—arid music, but beautiful playing of the two instruments (except for Kell's characteristic explosive nuances), and beautiful ensemble performances.

And from Columbia (ML-4296) Brahms's Piano Quartet Opus 25, played by Serkin and members of the Busch Quartet—the music pretentiously synthetic, the piano too heavy for the strings, the first violin thin, quavering, and unlovely, the sound of the high strings veiled and weak, the surfaces slightly gritty.

Concerning Columbia's LP versions of the Schneider-Kirkpatrick Performances of Bach sonatas (ML-2109/-10/11) the thing to report is that the violin again sounds unpleasantly brash, except with the treble knob in lowest position.

Columbia also has issued (ML-2101) a second group of Chopin Mazurkas played by Maryla Jonas—most of the pieces engaging, most of the performances characteristic in their extremes of mannered phrasing and pianissimo and their precise execution, the recorded sound very good (some notes in the middle range sound not perfectly tuned), surfaces slightly gritty.

And finally (ML-2099) Prokofiev's Piano Sonata Opus 28—an early, short, and good piece very much like a toccata, with lyric interludes—and his toccata-like "Suggestion diabolique" Opus 4 No. 4, coupled inappropriately with two lush early pieces by Scriabine. The performances by Sigi Weissenberg are superb, and their recorded sound first-rate—the best piano recording I can recall from Columbia.

CONTRIBUTORS

MCALISTER COLEMAN wrote this review just before his death. He was the author of "Eugene Victor Debs, Man Unafraid" and "Men and Coal."

WENZELL BROWN is the author of "Angry Men—Laughing Men. The Caribbean Caldron."

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Letters to the Editors

Back on the Air

Dear Sirs: Zone of Silence in your issue of May 27 was a pertinent and important article. Here, by contrast, is some good news on the subject of radio's self-censorship: Martin Agronsky, one of the few liberal commentators on the West Coast, was "dropped" by KEX, a Portland station, about three months ago. The station was flooded with letters of protest; the Farmers' Union and labor unions demanded the return of his program. A few days ago KEX rescheduled Agronsky's commentary for twelve noon daily, announcing that it did so in response to popular demand.

This is a lesson for liberals. When a minority of reactionaries, Catholic War Veterans, Legionnaires, and the like exert pressure to get liberal commentators banned, write your station.

TOM ENRIGHT

Salem, Oregon, May 31

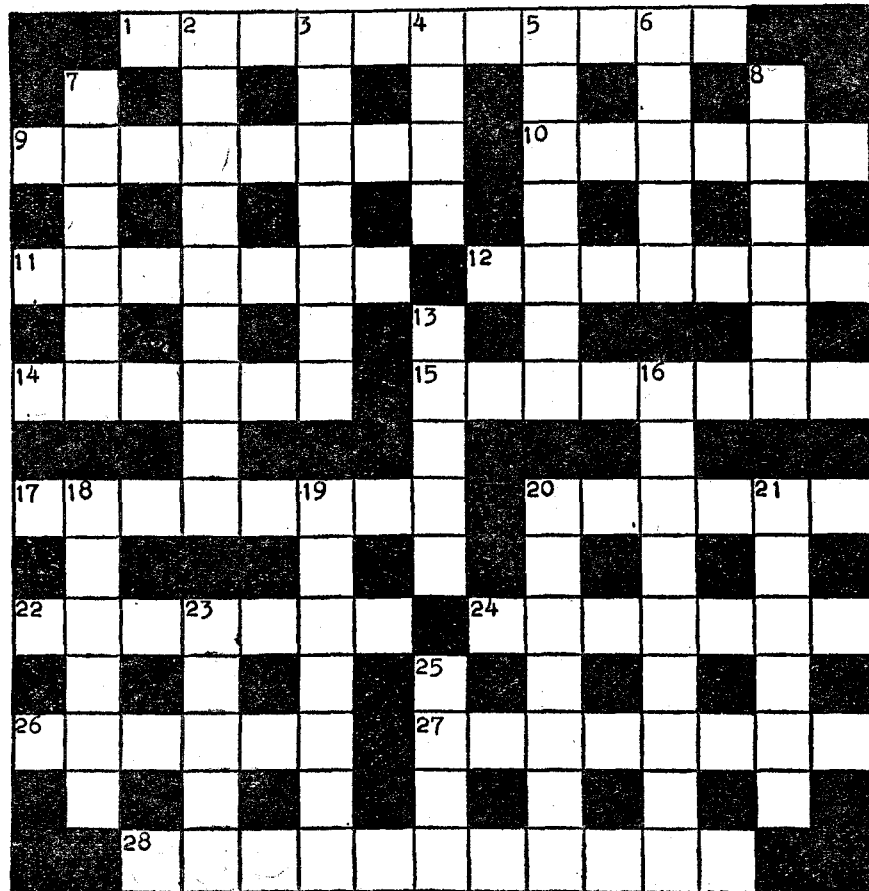
American Inadequacy

Dear Sirs: Travel and study in Europe since 1946 have given me an acute, play-by-play sense of the Russo-American conflict. The inadequate policy of the American government seems to be leading straight to its own defeat. The development of absolute weapons effectively multiplies our superior military potential by zero. I doubt that any even moderately irresponsible leader would consider waging a war to win—at best—an indecisive Pyrrhic victory. And if you cancel out our military strength, American policy presents a relative blank. Our political course is basically defensive and passive. We have established a group of paper states which promise to become our devoted and lifelong pensioners. Our policy is, in spirit, a negation of the revolutionary impulse—in the last analysis, a negation of all change. It is a denial of the integrative demands of the Industrial Revolution and the past one hundred years of European history. We are trying to freeze history, but of all symbols an ice-box hardly represents modern Europe. Our policy may "succeed" temporarily but hasn't—literally—a Chinaman's chance.

The only defense is to meet the opponent on his own grounds. Roosevelt, in the thirties, met the revolutionary wave and channeled it into the constructive

Crossword Puzzle No. 366

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Masculine speech involves harsh words. (11)
- 9 Purify true salt (suggesting the wages of sin?). (8)
- 10 See 14.
- 11 Speed for an old-time coach. (5, 2)
- 12 Place holders for gaiters. (7)
- 14 and 10 He ended up in a dark tower. (6, 6)
- 15 One of Twain's journeymen. (8)
- 17 Boss in the hammock? A glaring deception. (8)
- 20 Cuts an old column in pieces. (6)
- 22 Folds tents? (7)
- 24 If it makes you perspire, get it off your chest. (7)
- 26 Found along a foreign shore. (6)
- 27 Great circle. (8)
- 28 Country where the comforter is sun-burned. (11)
- 6 Crumpled towel for Hiawatha? (5)
- 7 Superior neighbor. (6)
- 8 Ward healer, perhaps. (6)
- 13 Certainly not a song for the quick. (5)
- 16 Classic blues-singer? (9)
- 18 How one polishes lances. (6)
- 19 Charge where everyone goes to the devil. (7)
- 20 Prevents one (from getting seats in the boat?). (7)
- 21 Found as near as theaters of war. (6)
- 23 Reserved for a rising jester. (5)
- 25 Name associated with biblical text. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 365

ACROSS:—1 BEHIND SCHEDULE; 8 NEW TESTAMENT; 10 DROLLERIES; 11 ANNE; 13 COHOSH; 14 REDOLENT; 16 ALL-CLEAR; 17 PEEP-BO; 19 NINE; 20 BLACK MARIA; 22 KEY PERSONNEL; 23 BROWN THRASHERS.

DOWN:—1 BENEDICT ARNOLD; 2 HEW TO THE LINE; 3 NEEDLESSLY; 4 SATIRE; 5 HAMPERED; 6 DUNE; 7 UNMENTIONABLES; 9 INTEMPERANCE; 12 HONEYMOONS; 15 GALLIPOT; 18 SCORER; 21 MEOW.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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social reform of the New Deal. Today the most powerful forces active in the world are desire for social reform and desire for national independence. It is we—not the Russians—who are in a position to satisfy those drives. We can easily give the peoples of the world the industrialization they need so badly. And by our very lack of international ideology, we can assure them their national independence. The Marshall Plan might have been that New Deal, but it was perverted to serve the political prejudices of our right-wing leaders. These men must come to see that the only way to win the conflict is by actually capturing the revolution from the Russians. It is no longer a question of economic doctrine but of national survival. Whether the N. A. M. is realistic enough to see that is another question.

LEO FREEMAN

Zurich, Switzerland, May 1

Comes the Revelation

Dear Sirs: It must be wonderful to be struck by the lightning of truth. I wish that I could attain, in any field, the certainty revealed to the chosen—the Advanced Artists [cited by Weldon Kees in *The Nation*, June 3] who "reject the monster national exhibition to be held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art next December."

Surely to the eighteen artists who issued the ukase—and to Mr. Kees who indorses it—has been granted the gift of prophecy typical of religionists who have only one stock in trade, one revelation to sell. These initiated few know, before the fact, that there will be in this "monster" affair nothing worth while if these eighteen refuse to contribute. Such prejudgment is the mark of the absolutist. . . .

The Metropolitan show will include painting of all kinds—good, bad, abstract, Freudian, realistic, non-objectivist, impressionistic. Some will find in it a preponderance of conservatism; for some tastes it will be radical. Few are clairvoyant enough to make predictions. Only if our elect eighteen were jurors could one say that just one type of art would be accepted. Their letter is a frank statement of that dogma.

Dangerous indeed—especially in today's world—are all who have satisfied their quest for certainty, who have discovered the one road to artistic verity, who find in the cultural transformations of the last hundred years only one direction that counts.

ROBERT ROTHMAN

Detroit, June 4

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J. King Gordon, a member of the se-
cretariat of the Human Rights Commis-
sion and long a contributing editor of
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DOROTHY P. HILL, Director

Wollaston, Mass., May 25

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